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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Eastern
DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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Coordination of Work between the U.S.S.R.
Division, OSS, and the Eastern European
Division, Department of State.

For more than three years the Eastern European Division has maintained very close contact and collaboration with the U.S.S.R. Division of OSS and has found the work of the U.S.S.R. Division in research and analysis to be very helpful in connection with problems arising with the Soviet Union.

During this period officers of the Eastern European Division have had meetings with representatives of the U.S.S.R. Division at least every two weeks to discuss current problems regarding the Soviet Union, to comment upon and make suggestions regarding the Situation Reports drafted by the OSS covering current trends and events in regard to the Soviet Union. These secret Situation Reports have proved most useful to other divisions in EUR to explain current developments and trends in Soviet policy. In drafting these reports an effort has been made to evaluate all aspects of important questions involving Soviet moves and the unfolding of Soviet policies.

At these periodic meetings oral suggestions have been made for special studies covering current or prospective problems involving the Soviet Union. Moreover, specific written requests have been made to the U.S.S.R. Division, calling for basic studies in fifteen or twenty instances. The following are some of the subjects regarding which written requests were made:

1. Relations between Communist Party and Red Army, with indications of future developments.
2. Status of religion in the Soviet Union.
3. Study on constitutional aspects of recent amendments to Soviet Constitution.
4. Basic study on availability of strategic war materials in the U.S.S.R. which might be obtained by the United States to stockpile such raw materials in short supply in the United States.

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5. Composition of the Polish National Council.
6. Comparative study of Polish constitutions of 1931 and 1935.
7. Request for a chronology to be attached to all situation reports, giving the dates of important events involving the Soviet Union which took place within the period covered by the report.
8. Study on the difficulties encountered and final outcome of the transfer of populations between Turkey and Greece after the last war.
9. Study on past experience of international supervision of elections.
10. Study on foreign and domestic propaganda activities of the U.S.S.R.
11. Study on the plebiscite in the Saar.
12. Request for population study of the Soviet Union, particularly concerning war losses.
13. Study on the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

Apart from these oral and written requests made by the Eastern European Division, the U.S.S.R. Division, on its own initiative, has prepared a large number of basic studies on economic and political events and developments in the Soviet Union. An indication of the subjects covered may be obtained from the following:

1. Russo-Chinese relations and potential Soviet contributions to China's postwar economic development.
2. Current emphasis on Marxist indoctrination in the U.S.S.R.
3. Soviet-Danish relations.
4. Soviet influence on minorities.
5. Visit of Russian Patriarch to the Near East.
6. The U.S.S.R. and the problem of trusteeships and colonies.
7. Soviet views

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7. Soviet views on regional arrangements (before the San Francisco conference).
8. Russian war damage and possible reparation plans.
9. Study on Southeastern Siberia.
10. The Russian State trade monopoly and the proposed cartel program.
11. Domestic consumption of petroleum products in the U.S.S.R.
12. Soviet intentions to punish war criminals.
13. Civilian health in the U.S.S.R.
14. Russian food dividend from Eastern Europe.
15. Present status of Free Germany Committee.
16. Soviet fishing industry.
17. Use of Soviet citizens in the German Army.
18. Russian role in the World Trade Union Conference.
19. Estimate of Soviet postwar capabilities and intentions. (This report was drawn up for the JIC; the political and economic sections were drafted in collaboration with EE.)

While the majority of the reports which were drawn up on the initiative of the U.S.S.R. Division were of use in the conduct of our relations with the Soviet Union, it is felt that many of them, while of interest, were not of any particular use to the Division. This applies to many of the long, detailed analyses of political areas such as the report on Southeastern Siberia.

It is the feeling of the officers of EE that it would be useful to have a research and analysis unit in the State Department which could handle questions involving the U.S.S.R. However, it is believed that to be of most use from a practical point of view, a considerable part of the research on the Soviet Union should be done in Moscow. The secretiveness and the peculiarities of the Soviet system make it necessary, more so than in the case of other countries, to have reports on conditions and developments in the area based on the evaluations of

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persons on the spot. In order to appreciate Soviet policies and actions it is essential for the persons working on these problems to "have the feel of the situation". This can only be obtained by considerable residence in the Soviet Union. In this connection, one criticism of the work of the U.S.S.R. Division is that while exhaustive efforts were made to analyze Soviet economic or political developments, they were based almost entirely on Soviet propaganda sources. It is well known that the statistics and published policy motives in the Soviet Union are to a large extent propaganda. Therefore, in order to reach as accurate an evaluation as possible in these matters it is essential to coordinate all information on the subject, particularly information which can be picked up in the Soviet Union but which is not available abroad. If this is not done, a considerable risk is run that the results arrived at will be far from accurate.

In the past, a considerable amount of research work was done in Moscow, but because of the housing problem, it was not possible to do all of the work there. For that reason, there was maintained in the American Legation at Riga a staff of three or four officers and approximately fifteen research assistants who draw up basic reports on various aspects of Soviet economic and political developments. Close liaison was maintained between Moscow and Riga and officers were transferred between the two posts in order to assure coordination. Because of the increased importance of the Soviet Union in world affairs, it is felt that staffs somewhat larger than those maintained in Moscow and Riga should be set up for the future.

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1 While the limitation of housing in Moscow is even more acute today than it was before the war, it is felt that every effort should be made to obtain adequate housing in Moscow in order that there may be maintained at that post approximately ten persons working in the research and analysis field. Since it would be impracticable at the present time to establish a research and analysis unit in a country near the Soviet Union, that unit should, it is felt, be established in Washington. In order to coordinate the work done by the staff in Moscow with other reports reaching the Department, it is believed that it would be advisable to have a staff here of from twenty to thirty persons. Such a staff would appear to be adequate to handle all special requests made by political

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Divisions for studies and would be large enough to work up other useful basic studies which would be helpful in the conduct of our relations with the Soviet Union. While a useful purpose might be served by having a larger staff to work on detailed analyses of particular problems which are not current or are not anticipated in the future, these studies are usually too long and detailed to be of use to political divisions and actually might even encumber the work of the divisions. In this connection, it is felt on the basis of experience that it will be very difficult at the present time to find even thirty or forty specialists qualified to carry on research and analysis work in the Soviet field. For security reasons it is essential that persons working in this field, to be useful to the Department, should be, if possible, native-born American citizens, and in no case should we use aliens for this work. Because of the many misconceptions of the realities of the Soviet Union induced by Soviet propaganda for the past twenty-eight years, it is almost essential that persons working in this field should have resided in the Soviet Union for a year or two in order that they may evaluate properly developments in regard to that country. There has been too much wishful thinking and misdirected ideology in a lot of the thought that has been given to the Soviet Union in outside countries. We should, therefore, as soon as practicable make arrangements for persons working in this field to spend a year or two in Moscow. In other words, there should be a more or less ebb and flow between the two staffs.

To sum up, it may be stated that the specific oral or written requests for studies have been of definite use in connection with the work in the Eastern European Division, and many of the reports done on the initiative of the OSS also have been useful when they dealt with matters which touched upon current or future problems. This type of work has been used by the Eastern European Division in working out basic policy recommendations and suggestions. On the other hand, many of the reports were primarily academic in interest and although it may at some time prove useful to have these reports in our files, it is felt that when such need arises, a shorter study could be asked for and would be more useful in connection with the political work since it would not only give the necessary background information but would be current. I feel that the one thing we should avoid in setting up a research and analysis organization is to carry on research for research's sake.

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In order effectively to carry out work in regard to the U.S.S.R. it is felt that very close liaison and contact must be maintained between the research and operations divisions in a similar manner to that which has already been established between EE and the U.S.S.R. Division of OSS. The operations division, being responsible for policy suggestions, should be able to call upon the research division at any time for special studies useful in formulating policy and guide the other work of the division to assure that the work being done fits in not only with policy but is so coordinated that the experience gained in operations may be taken into account in evaluating developments in regard to the U.S.S.R.

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